

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 USUN N 01466 01 OF 03 160003Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----040168 160007Z /62
O 152351Z APR 78 ZFF-4
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO USDEL SECRETARY NIACT IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA NIACT IMMEDIATE
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0736
AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 USUN NEW YORK 01466

EXDIS

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM MCHENRY

USDEL PLEASE PASS TO AMBASSADOR YOUNG

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PORG, SF, WA
SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: SUGGESTED RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS
EXPECTED TO BE POSED BY PIK BOTHA CONCERNING NAMIBIA

REF: CAPE TOWN 752

1. IN RESPONSE TO EMBASSY CAPE TOWN'S ASSESSMENT
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 USUN N 01466 01 OF 03 160003Z

(REFTEL) OF THE QUESTIONS WHICH PIK BOTHA IS LIKELY
TO RAISE IN HIS MEETING WITH YOU AND DAVID OWEN, I
HAVE ATTEMPTED TO DRAFT, FOR YOUR POSSIBLE GUIDANCE,
WHAT I BELIEVE THE CONTACT GROUP WO OLD FEEL ARE PROPER
RESPONSES. EFFORTS TO LOCATE THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE
CONTACT GROUP TODAY (SATURDAY, APRIL 15), HAVE
PROVEN UNSUCCESSFUL; HOWEVER, I BELIEVE THAT THE

RESPONSES BELOW WOULD MEET WITH THEIR GENERAL APPROVAL.

2. FOLLOWING ARE SUGGESTED RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS EXPECTED TO BE RAISED BY FOREIGN MINISTER BOTHA:

1) WHAT WILL HAPPEN IF SOUTH AFRICA ACCEPTS THE PROPOSAL AND SWAPO REFUSES TO GO ALONG WITH THE SETTLEMENT?

RESPONSE: SWAPO ASKS THE SAME QUESTION ABOUT SOUTH AFRICA. IF BOTH ACCEPT, AS WE BELIEVE THEY SHOULD, THIS PROBLEM WILL NOT OCCUR. WE HAVE REPEATEDLY EXPRESSED OUR OWN SUPPORT FOR OUR PROPOSAL. WE HOPE THE PARTIES PRINCIPALLY INVOLVED WILL GIVE THE PROPOSAL THEIR FULL ENDORSEMENT. WE ARE GRATIFIED BY THE SUPPORT AND ENCOURAGEMENT WHICH THE PROPOSAL HAS RECEIVED FROM VARIOUS NATIONS. IF EITHER OF THE PARTIES PRINCIPALLY CONCERNED WERE TO ACCEPT THE PROPOSAL UNCONDITIONALLY, INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE ON THE OTHER PARTY TO ACCEDE WOULD BE SUBSTANTIAL.

2) WHAT WILL HAPPEN IF SOUTH AFRICA ACCEPTS THE PROPOSAL AND SWAPO, AFTER ACCEPTING, PATENTLY VIOLATES THE AGREEMENT DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD?

RESPONSE: WE CANNOT ELIMINATE THE POSSIBILITY OF CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 USUN N 01466 01 OF 03 160003Z

DELIBERATE OR INADVERTENT VIOLATIONS OF THE AGREEMENT. HOWEVER, WE HAVE SOUGHT TO GAIN SUPPORT FOR THE PROPOSAL ON THE BASIS OF ITS EVIDENT FAIRNESS. IN ADDITION, WE HAVE SOUGHT TO BUILD INTO THE PROPOSAL THE NECESSARY MACHINERY TO MINIMIZE VIOLATIONS AND TO FOCUS ATTENTION ON VIOLATIONS WHERE THEY OCCUR. IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROPOSAL DEPENDS UPON THE GOOD FAITH OF THE PARTIES.

IF ONE SIDE WERE TO VIOLATE THE AGREEMENT GROSSLY THE SECURITY COUNCIL WOULD HAVE TO CONSIDER THE MATTER. THE FIVE ARE FIRMLY COMMITTED TO THE FAIRNESS AND IMPARTIALITY OF OUR PROPOSAL AND SIMILARLY TO ITS FAITHFUL AND FULL IMPLEMENTATION. AS MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, THE FIVE WOULD GIVE THE MOST SERIOUS AND SCRUPULOUS CONSIDERATION TO ANY ALLEGATIONS OF SIGNIFICANT VIOLATION OF THE AGREEMENT.

3) WILL THE WESTERN FIVE GUARANTEE AGAINST MILITARY INTERVENTION DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD?

RESPONSE: OUR PROPOSAL STATES THAT THE UN SPECIAL

REPRESENTATIVE WILL BE ASSISTED BY "A MILITARY SECTION OF THE UNITED NATIONS TRANSITION ASSISTANCE GROUP TO MAKE SURE THAT THE PROVISIONS OF THE AGREED SOLUTION WILL BE OBSERVED BY ALL PARTIES". HOWEVER, THE BEST PROTECTION AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA'S CONCERN IS THE SANCTION OF THE PROPOSAL BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. MOREOVER, THE SURROUNDING STATES HAVE AN INTEREST IN THE SUCCESS OF THE SETTLEMENT, PROVIDED, OF COURSE THAT THE PROVISIONS ARE FAIRLY IMPLEMENTED. MUCH WOULD DEPEND UPON SOUTH AFRICA AS IT IS RESPONSIBLE, IN THE FIRST INSTANCE, FOR ADMINISTRATION, AND THEREFORE IS ABLE TO DEMONSTRATE THAT IT IS ABIDING BY BOTH THE SPIRIT AND LETTER OF THE AGREEMENT.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 USUN N 01466 02 OF 03 160006Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W

-----040172 160008Z /62

O 162351Z APR 78 ZFF-4

FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

TO USDEL SECRETARY NIACT IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA NIACT IMMEDIATE

INFO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0737

AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 USUN NEW YORK 01466

EXDIS

CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM MCHENRY

USDEL PLEASE PASS TO AMBASSADOR YOUNG

4) WHAT ASSURANCES CAN THE WEST GIVE ABOUT THE IMPARTIALITY OF THE UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE?

RESPONSE: A. ON THE BASIS OF THEIR EXPERIENCE, BOTH SIDES ARE CONCERNED ABOUT THE IMPARTIALITY OF THE OTHER. WE RECOGNIZE THAT THIS DISTRUST WILL CONTINUE. HOWEVER, OUR HOPE IS THAT A COOPERATIVE RELATIONSHIP
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 USUN N 01466 02 OF 03 160006Z

WILL BE DEVELOPED AND THAT THE MANIFEST ADVANTAGES TO ALL OF SUCCESSFUL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AGREEMENT WILL BE APPARENT.

B. THROUGHOUT ITS HISTORY THE UNITED NATIONS HAS BEEN INVOLVED IN OPERATIONS OF PEACEKEEPING AND TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE. ITS RECORD OF COMPETENCE AND IMPARTIALITY IN THAT REGARD IS DISTINGUISHED AND WELL PROVEN. WE HAVE NO DOUBT THAT ANY TASKS PERFORMED BY THE UNITED NATIONS IN NAMIBIA WOULD BE CARRIED OUT OBJECTIVELY AND CAPABLY, AND THE SECRETARY GENERAL HAS GIVEN PUBLIC ASSURANCE OF THAT FACT. WHILE THE SECRETARY GENERAL HAS GIVEN NO FORMAL INDICATION OF WHOM HE WOULD CONSIDER NAMING AS SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE, WE BELIEVE THAT, IF APPOINTED, MR. AHTISAARI WOULD SERVE ABLY AND FAIRLY. THE MANDATE OF THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WOULD REQUIRE IMPARTIALITY, AND WE BELIEVE THAT MR. AHTISAARI WOULD FULFILL IT.

5) WOULD THE WESTERN FIVE BE PREPARED TO PLAY A ROLE IN THE RESOLUTION OF ANY DISAGREEMENTS BETWEEN THE ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL AND THE UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE?

RESPONSE: THE FIVE ENVISION A CLOSE WORKING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL AND THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE. BY DISCUSSING INFORMALLY AND ON A REGULAR BASIS ANY PROPOSALS WHICH THEY MAY WISH TO SEE ENACTED BEFORE SUCH PROPOSALS ARE MADE PUBLIC, THESE TWO OFFICIALS SHOULD BE ABLE TO AVOID ANY MAJOR DISAGREEMENTS. WE INTEND TO MAINTAIN AN ACTIVE INTEREST IN ALL DEVELOPMENTS DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD, AND WE WILL DO OUR UTMOST TO ENSURE THAT THE TERMS OF THE AGREEMENT ARE CARRIED OUT. FYI. WE DO NOT THINK IT ADVISABLE FOR THE FIVE TO
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 USUN N 01466 02 OF 03 160006Z

TAKE ON THE ROLE OF ARBITER; RATHER WE SHOULD SEEK TO PROMOTE A CO-OPERATIVE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE

ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL AND THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE.
END FYI.

6) WILL THE FIVE MAKE A COMMITMENT TO ASSURE THE
RELIABILITY OF PROCEDURES PROVIDING AN
OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL NAMIBIANS DETAINED ABROAD TO
RETURN?

RESPONSE: AS WE HAVE SAID PREVIOUSLY, THE FIVE
EXPECT ALL PARTIES TO ABIDE BY THE TERMS OF THE
AGREEMENT. WE HAVE NO INDICATION THAT PROVISIONS
RELATING TO THE RELEASE OF NAMIBIANS WILL NOT BE
HONORED.

7) DOES THE WESTERN FIVE RECOGNIZE THE AUTHORITY OF
THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY TO REQUEST THE SOUTH AFRICAN
FORCES TO REMAIN IN THE TERRITORY?

RESPONSE: UPON INDEPENDENCE, THE GOVERNMENT OF NAMIBIA
IS, OF COURSE, FREE TO MAKE WHATEVER ARRANGEMENTS IT
DESIRES FOR ITS NATIONAL DEFENSE. IN THE PERIOD
BETWEEN THE CERTIFICATION OF THE ELECTION AND
INDEPENDENCE, THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY WILL BE THE ONLY
DULY-ELECTED REPRESENTATIVE BODY IN NAMIBIA. WE
BELIEVE THAT AS SUCH IT MAY STATE ITS VIEWS ON THIS
SUBJECT. HOWEVER, WE DO NOT WISH TO GIVE THE
CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY BROAD AUTHORITY TO MAKE DECISIONS
BEYOND ITS COMPETENCE. WE WOULD NOT, FOR EXAMPLE, WISH
THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY TO HAVE THE AUTHORITY TO
ORDER OUT THE ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL OR TO TAKE
OTHER ACTIONS WHICH MIGHT ADVERSELY AFFECT STABILITY.
(FYI. BOTHA IS AWARE THAT WE HAVE NOT GONE BEYOND STATING
THAT THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY MAY EXPRESS ITS VIEWS BUT
HE HAS IMPLIED TO THE PRESS THAT THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 USUN N 01466 02 OF 03 160006Z

WILL HAVE GREATER AUTHORITY. END FYI.)

8) WOULD YOU AGREE TO THE ESTABLISHMENT BY THE ADMINISTRATOR
GENERAL, IN ADVANCE OF ACCEPTANCE BY THE PARTIES OF

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 USUN N 01466 03 OF 03 160006Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----040179 160009Z /62

O 162351Z APR 78 ZFF-4
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO USDEL SECRETARY NIACT IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA NIACT IMMEDIATE
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0738
AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 USUN NEW YORK 01466

EXDIS

CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM MCHENRY

USDEL PLEASE PASS TO AMBASSADOR YOUNG

THE PROPOSAL, OF A TARGET DATE FOR ELECTIONS, PENDING
CONSULTATION WITH THE UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE?
RESPONSE: THE ELECTION DATE MUST BE ESTABLISHED BY THE
ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL AND THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE
IN THE CONTEXT OF FULFILLMENT OF THE TERMS OF THE
PROPOSAL. THE PRIMARY DETERMINANT IS THE ESTABLISHMENT
OF THE NECESSARY CONDITIONS FOR FREE AND FAIR
ELECTIONS. ANY EFFORT BY ONE PARTY TO ESTABLISH EVEN
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 USUN N 01466 03 OF 03 160006Z

A TENTATIVE DATE WOULD BE UNACCEPTABLE AND WOULD ONLY
SERVE TO COMPLICATE PRESENT EFFORTS AT ACHIEVING THE
PROPOSAL'S ADOPTION. ONCE THE PROPOSAL IS
ADOPTED THE ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL AND THE SPECIAL
REPRESENTATIVE MAY ESTABLISH A DATE AS SOON AS THEY SEE
FIT.

9) WILL THE WESTERN FIVE SUPPORT THE INTEGRITY AND
SECURITY OF ANY INDEPENDENT STATE WHICH EMERGES FROM
THE PROCESS?

RESPONSE: THE WESTERN FIVE'S INTEREST IN NAMIBIA IS IN
SEEING THAT THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA HAVE A FREE AND FAIR
OPPORTUNITY TO DETERMINE THE FUTURE GOVERNMENT OF AN
INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA. WE HAVE NO INTEREST IN THE OUTCOME
OF THE ELECTION EXCEPT THAT IT BE DETERMINED FREELY
AND FAIRLY BY MAJORITY RULE OF ALL THE PEOPLE.
ONCE THE ELECTION RESULTS HAVE BEEN CERTIFIED BY THE
UNITED NATIONS, WE EXPECT ALL TO RESPECT THE NEW
GOVERNMENT OF NAMIBIA. LEONARD

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, BRIEFING MATERIALS, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 15 apr 1978
Decaption Date: 20 Mar 2014
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978USUNN01466
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780163-0221
Format: TEL
From: USUN NEW YORK
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780452/aaaabrwm.tel
Line Count: 342
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 890c28ad-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 7
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: 78 CAPE TOWN 752
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 19 apr 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2954369
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: NAMIBIA: SUGGESTED RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS EXPECTED TO BE POSED BY PIK BOTHA CONCERNING NAMIBIA
TAGS: PORG, PDEV, SF, WA, US, (VANCE, CYRUS R), (BOTH, PIK), (OWEN, DAVID)
To: SECRETARY PRETORIA
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/890c28ad-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014